791 in a while there is some truth to it." Or, like our countrymen who in other respects consider themselves enlightened, they will adopt the standpoint: "After all, you never can tell . . ."

791 The unsuccessful soothsayer does not have to look far for ridi-
558 cule. In Bebai I heard a poem ridiculing a man from the Ntum region who had been deliberately taken in. One man hid his chopping knife in his house in the presence of witnesses and then went to the soothsayer to ask him quite innocently to tell him where the knife was that he had lost. After all kinds of mystification and tomfoolery the soothsayer answered that the knife had been stolen in the field during the clearing of the farm. Amidst the hilarity of all those present, the "victim of the theft" produced the knife from where it was hidden, and the soothsayer departed, shamed.

721 In times of war, however, the soothsayer's reputation is re-
787 established. Before setting out against the enemy village, the entire company of young men stand around him in a circle, the soothsayer leaps about with the horn in his hand, shaking it according to all the rules of his art, and then suddenly points it /196/ to one of those standing around him, saying: "You will be killed, or (pointing to another) you will be wounded if you go into battle." Or the wise man says: "You can go confidently into battle for nothing will happen to you," but he will say this -- if we may trust his shrewdness -- only to those who in any case tend to stay in the rear. The person who has received a bad "prognosis" stays safely at home, and in this way the soothsayer is seldom found out.

787 In Volume II, page 108 ("Religion") /Ed., not translated/ we saw that the Pangwe believes he can read the future from dreams through appropriating the power of the soul by holding his head in the resin fire kindled on the grave. In so doing he learns to distinguish true dreams from false ones, and consequently comes to recognize what the future will bring.

I am not acquainted with animal oracles in the south, but among the Jaunde there is a spider oracle. Zenker (1) writes about

1. G. Zenker, "Yaunde," in Mitteilungen von Forschungsreisenden und Gelehrten aus

787 den deutschen Schutzgebieten /Reports by Explorers and Scholars from the German Protectorates/, edited by Dr. Baron Von Danckelmann.

this spider oracle: "In each hamlet or along the way one finds a quadrangle surrounded by the trunks of plantain trees, in the center of which there is a hole with little bamboo sticks (2) set around

2. This should read: raffia!

it. In this hole lives the field spider. Now, if the owner of the hamlet or one of his relatives wishes to undertake a journey, the hole is covered with plantain leaves during the night. If the little sticks remain undisturbed, everything will go well; on the other hand, if a little stick has been moved out of place, a misfortune threatens, and the people concerned stay at home."

2. Meteorology

821 The rain is up in the sky in a large vessel which holds the rain just as a piece of fruit holds its juice. When it is completely full, the vessel bursts, and the water gradually flows off and falls to earth. When the vessel is completely empty, the people say: "The rainy season is over." During the subsequent dry season, the vessel gradually fills up again, with perhaps some water seeping through once in a while, but the greater part stays in. Then the vessel bursts again when the new rainy season begins.

When the vessel bursts and the water streams out, there is a tumult and a roar as of a waterfall or the surf. It can be heard in the distant rumble of thunder during a storm, which in the tropics coincides with rain more frequently than among us. Hence the Pangwe call this rumbling of the thunder ndjaŋ mmvŏó I, "the rushing (noise) of the rain" (3). Rain is a creation of the primeval

3. mvŏó a dim means: it is thundering.

has lived on human flesh, a piece of the flesh is found. That piece of flesh is taken out and put into an antelope horn together with scrapings of a vine called nzi bivur, a panther claw (dze nze), the talon of a sparrow hawk, and a firefly. The end of the horn is closed with the wax of white honey (eko abe).

The fetish thus made is either carried by the person who wishes to protect himself or is hung at the door of the hut. At night, if the bivur wish to enter the hut, the firefly will leave the horn and fly into the hut, giving warning of their approach. Then there is a battle (abal nguel, the war of the ngwel) between the bivur and the horn fetish, from which the fetish almost always emerges victor.

III. The bieri. The bieri is a family fetish whose help must be sought before every important undertaking: hunting, fishing, a journey, choice of farm land, etc.,..., by the head of the family who owns the fetish.

It consists of the skull of a dead ancestor taken from the grave by a practitioner after the complete disappearance of the flesh. After having taken the skull, the practitioner goes into the forest and makes from the bark of a tree called andun (Berlinia sp.) a cylindrical box with a lid, big enough to hold the skull. The bottom of the box and the top of the lid are formed by a circular disc of wood nailed into the bark cylinder with little pegs of hard wood. The practitioner then cleans the skull and anoints it with an ointment of red wood sawdust (ba) and oil of raphia palm. The box is called nsek and the skull sen bieri, the whole having the name of bieri. Into the box is also placed some red wood sawdust and a plant called nsen (a kind of fern), and sometimes also a little wooden bowl. The bieri thus made is put in a hidden place in the hut of the family head. It will speak in dreams to a family head whenever it wishes to notify a member of the family of some event. Sometimes a statuette roughly representing the person whose skull constitutes the main part of the fetish is put on the lid of the box. It is called nlu bieri (the head of the bieri).

No one may see the bieri unless he has eaten some alan (Strychnos icaja) in the course of a ceremony called ku melan. The heads of several families send the future initiates to look for roots of alan, of which they retain only the bark. Then in the morning each family head brings his bieri to a place prepared in advance in the bush near the

village which is called ngun [75] melan; he carries the bieri on his shoulder and appears to collapse under its weight. That position is a manner of worshipping the fetish. When everyone has gathered, animals, fowls, or kids are sacrificed; then, to the accompaniment of tomtoms, the neophytes dance, sing, and cry out, all the while chewing pieces of alan prepared the previous day. After a certain time, the effect of the root, combined with the excitement of the dances and songs, causes most of the participants of the celebration to become unconscious after many spasms. This unconsciousness may last two or three hours, during which the individuals retain a corpse-like stiffness. On awakening, each tells the elders what he has seen or what the bieri has told him in his dream. One may have been ordered to hunt, with the assurance of killing many antelope; another may have been warned of the impending death of a member of his family; still another may have been told of the imminent pregnancy of a brother's wife. All the Pahouin whom we have questioned state that predictions made by the bieri to people drunk with alan always come true.

Then the neophytes have the right to look at the bieri, whose boxes are open, making a vow not to speak of them to anyone who has not undergone the initiation of alan. Every uninitiated person who looks at a bieri falls ill, and only the care of a competent practitioner can prevent his death.

When a family head wants to supplicate his bieri, he sacrifices a hen, a duck, or a kid, or offers it the hind leg of an animal killed in the hunt, and pours blood on the skull. The meat is cooked in leaves by a woman, then taken to the bieri with stalks of manioc or a mash of bananas and water, by the one making the sacrifice. If, for example, the bieri is appealed to before a hunt, he who makes the sacrifice presents the food with these words:

"O tar ta mba bidzi olun wa to we niem e to ma tune we yũ, Binyu bon be wa y onzan vag bie betsir" (O father, see the good food, I want to dispel the anger that is in your heart. Your children die of want, give us meat).

Then he goes out of the hut because the bieri will not eat in the presence of a living being. Several hours later he comes back to look for the food left by the bieri. Its consumption, however, is not visible as it is accomplished immaterially. This food that has been brought to the watchers' hut [corps de garde] will be eaten only by the

initiates. Anyone else who eats it will become mortally ill. During the following night, the bieri will reveal to an initiate during his sleep the means of assuring the success of the hunt for which his help has been asked.

The bieri strictly forbids anyone, under pain of mortal illness, to [76] insult it. Its power is unlimited: it can cause a woman who has fled from the village to return to it; it causes lost objects to be found.

In spite of all the faith which the old Pahouin still have in the bieri, in the region which interests us one may say that the majority of the population has abandoned it, primarily because of its being driven out by the Christian missions.

IV. The buiti. The buiti, which our informants told us were of Mitsogho [Mitsogo] or Masango [Missanga?] origin (peoples of the right bank of the N'Gounié), is a protective association against the bivur. The information on this secret society was given us by Akam Eyene, the head of a buiti, who lived in the village Elong Eko on the Abanga. It is rather incomplete because this informant was unwilling to give us certain details and to answer numerous questions.

Possessors of bieri band together because of the fear of the bivur, against which the bieri by itself is powerless to protect them. Their association, the buiti, in its fight against the ngwel, shows itself as stronger and kills the bivur (and consequently the individual possessors of bivur). It also serves to reveal the beyem, who have evil intentions toward members of the buiti and to make their efforts ineffectual.

Every member of the buiti brings a piece of his bieri and a piece of the animal under whose protection he has placed himself. All of these are put in a box and constitute the fetish of the association, which also keeps such material things as:

A musical instrument, ngomi, a harp with eight strings. At the bottom of the resonance chamber of the one belonging to Akam Eyene were pierced three holes covered by three pieces of flesh of chimpanzee, gorilla, snake, elephant, eagle, panther, and rooster. This instrument accompanies the songs of the ceremony.

A bell, etsoge, a round hollowed-out fruit, into which are put little pebbles. It is equipped with a handle and is shaken during the songs.

A branch of raphia palm lying horizontally on two carved stakes called minsaga mi buiti. The whole thing is called obaka. During the ceremonies this branch is beaten with two sticks.

764 there are placed in it the arms or some everyday objects of the deceased. Then everyone goes back to the village, the women crying. The close relatives of the deceased go into mourning, which is much stricter for a woman than for a man; we have already seen what comprises the mourning of a widow. As for the widower, after having
765 stayed for two or three days in a state of prostration, often simulated, he continues to look after his work as usual, remaining meanwhile under the obligation to stay dirty until the celebrations at the end of mourning.

763 The autopsy of the corpse to find the evur is done at the edge of the
765 grave, after the women have been sent away. The package containing [93] the corpse is undone and the practitioner operates with a large knife made especially for this purpose. He has previously painted his face half black, half red so that the deceased will not recognize him and cannot come from his abode in the village of Nzame to avenge himself for the mutilation he is undergoing. When the operation is finished, the corpse is sewed up, re-wrapped, and placed normally in the grave.

764 There is no cemetery, and the dead are buried a short distance from the village, almost behind the huts. Sometimes when a person is thought to have died from having been eaten by the bivur, in order that the grave may not be violated for the purpose of removing a piece of the corpse, it is buried in the very hut of the head of the family.

765 The life of the dead in the village of Nzame is identical with that which they had at home; they do the same work, have the same entertainments, marry, procreate, always stay young, and also have the power to do whatever they wish; it is enough for them to express a wish for it to be granted.

The dead sometimes leave their abode to return to the earth, perhaps in the form of phantoms with long hair to frighten the living, meeting a phantom being fatal, or perhaps in the shape of animals in order to avenge themselves. Some may change themselves into an elephant and ravage the fields of their enemies; others change into a panther and kill all the livestock and poultry and sometimes even the inhabitants of the village where they were unhappy in life. When they
● [181] wish to be beneficent, they appear in the dreams of their relatives and friends and give them wise advice.

794 [769] those who give the initiation), which is important in traditional Fang society.

The grouping that forms the Biéri – which brings together full-grown men who take an integral part in the social life – remains closely linked with the system of kinship. It has, none the less, an important role which we have just pointed out, that is, [143] it establishes relations, which are most effective because they are religious, between elements of the same clan who do not belong organically [sic] within the limits of a superior unit which might have been the chefferie. But other associations have come into existence beyond the clan kinship and beyond the diversity, peculiarities, and antagonisms it provokes. The Ngil, with a multifunctional activity and with an aim to putting things in order at the time of crises and conflicts, seems to be the best known. (1)

1. Cf. Father H. Trilles, op. cit., p. 62. Captain Maignan, op. cit. Lt. Poupard, "Le Fétichisme et la barbarie au Congo [Fetishism and Barbarism in the Congo]," Renseignements Coloniaux, March, 1908. Above all, L.C. Leroux, Etude sur le Ngil [Study on the Ngil], Bulletin de la Société des Recherches Congolaises, 6, 1925.

794 787 Members of the Ngil as such are guaranteed "in all places against attack"; they circulate "without the least fear of any outrage" among tribes that are in "open vendetta." (2) The Ngil –

2. L.C. Leroux, op. cit.

the word designates both the association and the masked man who operates in its name – "has the right to strike, wound, and even kill." The solemnity of his action is marked by the suspension of all life in the village when he arrives. The huts are closed, the fires put out, the women cloistered, and no inhabitant shows

794 himself in the interior courtyard. The final ceremony includes
787 the erection of a hollow clay statue (3) (also called Ngil) before

3. Cf. the description in the articles of Leroux, op. cit., and Poupard, op. cit.

which "all the inhabitants of the village and those of the villages of the same line" must appear, and whose function is to reveal the guilty ones (who have caused unexplained deaths or calamities from which the whole group has suffered, etc.). The intervention of the Ngil is sought in moments of serious crises. It calls for total action involving large groupings for whom it has a real therapeutic value: by determining guilt (impossible to contest because it is a matter of a superior and anonymous justice), by reinstating unity (on a passionate basis) at the time of the punishment, by re-creating a new vigor by means of this "purification."

794 The religious aspect of the "association" justifies such an
789 absolute, such an indisputable action. Unfortunately, we know little about it, except that certain dead are called upon by means of skulls, bones, and sacrifices, and that fertility rites are included
[83] when the Ngil has a female companion, Omore (1). [144]

1. H. Trilles, op. cit., p. 62, writes that "the new members must accomplish a number of actions connected with the act of generating before the statue of Omore ...," and Poupard speaks of "shameful ceremonies."

We have here a prevalent dialectic: a recourse to the social past — which is a true reservoir of endlessly accumulated powers — in order to instruct the social future and to fertilize it; the past and the future, the ancestors and the living are, like the generation of the ésa and that of the mwanŏ, in the relation of begetter to begotten. This movement expresses dependence and a certain social order. The intervention of the Ngil — but it is not the only

695 was in other respects common. They were administered either by the nlyi'i mejo —esa, nnoi, njoo bot, or officer of the ngil or another association—or by a diviner, mvimvi'i, sometimes a specialist in this category of bitom, palavers. The true ordeal had several forms: by a curse uttered over the ancestral grave or the bieti basket; by bitter herbs, alan; by pimento or ants; by boiling water or fire. /72/ Initiations and particularly that for ngil all involved a collective ordeal intended to ward off beyem who might have tried to push their way in. In addition to the ordeal proper, the mvimvi'i could make use of various forms of divining in order to discover presumed culprits. Except for a serious crime, the culprit thus revealed was not forced to undergo an ordeal if he admitted his guilt. Physical ordeals are on the decline; they are considered crimes or delicts in the Penal Code. And ordeal by oath has lost a great deal of its force. Divining remains much in use and is sometimes highly effective (1).

1. An oath may be sworn on a nzo'okak—a little elephant shield containing various medicines, equipped with a strap and worn under the arm. The nzo'okak is not an insignia of authority. Upon the death of its holder it does not pass automatically to the man who becomes head of the family but goes to the one who has a flair for magic. To leap over a nzo'okak laid on the ground means swearing that one has told the truth. The nzo'okak is a guarantee of treaties: after a battle it is placed between the belligerents, who jump over it to vouch for their peaceful intentions. (J. B.)

Among modern punishments, fines and imprisonment are well recognized by the Pahouin and have a definite intimidating power. On the other hand, the subtleties of setting up a public prosecutor /la constitution de partie civil/ are beyond many peasants, who thus lose the possibility of receiving damages that custom would have given them. Above all, the Napoleonic interpretation of crimes and delicts remains pretty well foreign to Pahouin norms, for example, in judging an insult as a mere transgression even when directed to an

a long enough interval in which to inform and call together the eventual heirs; in villages it remains longer.

The élik includes on the debit side the family debts incurred by the de cujus, but not his purely personal debts, which die with him; the distinction is sometimes hard to make and gives rise to suits between the heirs and creditors of the dead man. The debit side also includes the funeral costs, especially compensation to the diviner called in to determine the cause of death (but the expenses of the final illness are considered to be a personal debt). Assets cover all real and personal property that belonged to the deceased, including his wives. The settlement, akap = distribution, is directed by the akap élik, distributor of the inheritance, usually a ntôl môt, a kinsman or affinal relative not benefiting from the inheritance and appointed either by the de cujus or by the heirs themselves. Inheritances are more important now than they used to be, not only because there are more, and a greater variety of, objects to be distributed but also because the custom is dying out of destroying or burying part of them during the funeral rites.

There are six degrees of possible heirs: male offspring and their male descendants; full brothers; half brothers on the father's side; paternal first cousins, bobenyañ; clan nephews, hence brother's sons, bobenôm; uterine brothers, nephews, and grandsons of the clan, hence bastards, bobengon, and legitimate nephews and grandsons outside the clan, bobekal. Inheritance does not devolve by ascending order except in the complete absence of descending heirs.

The eldest of the heirs of the first degree called to the inheritance, ntôl mon, is privileged; he is the replacement, njian, for the dead man. To him go the hut, the family jewelry, ancestral cult objects, especially the bieti basket, the rifle, and certain valuable possessions like bicycles, sewing machines, etc. The other possessions are divided among the other heirs of the same degree. The njian's right of seniority is beginning to be criticized; it is gradually ceasing to apply to plantations, and now the heirs are demanding a division into portions of equal value along lines similar to those of the Civil Code.

The possessions left by a woman went in the first instance to her daughters, in their absence to her co-wives, and in their absence to her husband. With the present instability of marriage, related to the economic emancipation of women, this order of inheritance is

764 commun/ were buried by their co-wives and the women of their affinal family. Bongô and bikeñelé were buried at home with no other ceremonial than the mother's mourning.

763 When signs of sorcery were found on a corpse, the ngengañ or
● 787 mvimvi'i turned to divination to find the presumed culprit, who was subjected to an ordeal of bitter herbs. As a general thing, wives had
695 to submit regularly to the pimento or ant ordeals to make them confess not only the part they might have had in the husband's death but also their adulteries. When no one was found responsible for the death of a mie individual (nonsorcerer), it was decided that he had been the victim of a breaking of taboo, nsem, sometimes unwittingly. Whatever the cause of death, sorcery or nsem or repercussion from
787 an act of sorcery, purification always occurred, generally by a sacrifice at the end of the mourning period (meyep). /103/

765 The duration of mourning was, and still is, a mbu /six months/, but it is now less rigorous. Formerly the wives of the dead man were secluded, naked, for a month in his hut, the first wife lying on his bed; their heads and all their body hair were shaved, and they were painted white with ash and forbidden to wash or do their hair until the end of mourning. The dead man's brothers and sons shaved their heads and let their beards grow without trimming or combing; their foreheads were painted white and they wore only old clothes. They had to observe a series of prohibitions concerning certain ways of hunting, the eating of certain kinds of game (perhaps the dead man's personal totem?), all journeys, the circumcision of the dead man's sons, the use of a bed, etc. The end of mourning was marked by a sacrifice and often by a melan ceremony in order to enter into communication with the dead man.

The strictest mourning was observed for the death of an esa, a man of the father's age grade, less for a monyañ, and hardly any for a mongô. With regard to women, a man observed solemn mourning only for his mother and first wife, and this meant mourning within the family, while a man's death involved the whole village. However, an epidemic was followed by heavy mourning, and when the one presumed responsible was identified, it was not enough that he
766 pay avutan, compensation, he was burned or drowned (his immediate
791 family was constrained to pay the avutan), and then a general
783 purification was undertaken.

also discriminates between the ésayoñ, ancestor cult /112/, and the mvamayoñ, totemic cult. It must be admitted that there is now no chance of obtaining a cross-checking of his theories except on points of detail, although that is no formal condemnation of his theories; it is the consequence of a shortage of researchers, lack of respect on the part of the researchers, or loss of traditions of initiation. The following points may be considered as established:

mvam (émvam) connotes ideas of a forefather, dead or alive, lineal and protective.

akam, protection, is sometimes used in speaking of animals, to indicate the reason for a prohibition; the verb kam having a defending-protecting meaning as well as that of forbidding-prohibiting. All prohibitions are not tied up with these notions, but some are - and they may well be individual prohibitions as well as hereditary collective ones, not necessarily involving animals.

Clan markings, mindem, and tattoo marks, mindan, are often connected with a prohibition.

There is a whole system of animal symbolism, evident particularly in tales and augury ("zoomancy," divination by spiders).

Certain animals are connected with initiation cults: very definitely the sô and snakes (dendraspis and python); probably the porcupine and tortoise (with feminine rites); perhaps the gorilla (njil; ngil, Johnson's tone 4, the ngil rite having tone 5).

There does not appear to be any connection between an animal name borne by a person (Mvômô = Python, Zo'o = Elephant, Ze = Panther, etc.) and the prohibitions he is subject to.

Moreover, the following, it seems pretty certain, are not specifically related to totemism:

Alliance, élat or ngbwa, between a person and a particular animal.

A sorcerer's employing an animal, nkuk (observe that nkuk also means "mask") to carry out his sorcery at a distance.

The incarnation of a sorcerer in the body of an animal, élañela (Trilles applies this name to the nkuk).

The temporary incarnation of a dead man in an animal's body.

The first three phenomena often seem to be confused in the minds of present-day Pahouin, and the fourth may be the consequence of this.

It is curious that the legend recounted by Trilles about the crocodile, which he considers to be the "national totem," represents

perform a sort of exorcism. Sorcerers seem to be convened to these meetings by secret messages in the form of bundles of sticks notched according to a particular code, or in the form of the quipu. They are believed to reach the meetings by levitation or by sending only their nsisim while their bodies remain at home in a state of apparent death. This offers a good chance of getting rid of the sorcerer by burning his body, the disadvantage being that the nsisim survives, as does the évu, and that they than can be incarnated in an animal, which cannot happen if the sorcerer is burnt alive.

The évu may use various methods of moving about outside the nnem's body. Sometimes he leaves it in an invisible and immaterial form, but this method is exceptional. Most often he enters the body of an animal, generally a leopard, but sometimes a black make, civet cat, gorilla, or chimpanzee, or even certain insects; the list is unlimited, but nearly always the animal in question is powerful or dangerous. The carrier-animal is then almost invulnerable, endowed both with human intelligence and with the powers of an évu. It is, however, possible to strike at it, with luck and good mebiaŋ, and any injury to the évu rebounds on the sorcerer. On the other hand, injury to a sorcerer during the évu's absence is not necessarily fatal to the latter, because the évu can survive in the body of the vehicle-animal. The latter is called nkuk (1), which can also mean "mask." It is

1. Among the Ewôndo, this term also denotes the good bekôn who appear in dreams to give advice to the living. (J.B.)

not clear whether there is a confusion /119/ with the élaŋela, as Trilles suggests, or with animal-bekôn, or with those who are beyem on their own account, or even with bingôngôt (bingungure).

There seems to exist alongside ngbwel a /kind of/ sorcery connected with abé nlem or mbia nlem, malignity of the heart, and having nothing to do with possession by the bivu. Thus practitioners of kôn, which consists of killing a person while leaving his body alive (see above, p. 134), would not necessarily be beyem in the strict sense. Likewise, many malevolent activities are only criminal deviations from permissible magic. Alliance with an animal, or incarnation in the body of an animal, or even the transformation of a magician into an animal, need not be malevolent or only becomes so

787 Magic appears to be a technique for making use of the strength, nyi, contained in every element of the universe /création/, which everyone has more or less the capacity, ngui, to employ. Elementary magic is taught within the family, advanced magic /is taught/ in associations, by experienced practitioners and also, nowadays, through /120/ correspondence with European charlatans. All initiations include a course in magic, all associations possess a body of specialists.

787 Divination, mvi'i, and medicine, mboan mebiañ, are to magic in general what in Europe the special branches are to general medicine. 790 Every ngengañ is a diviner and physician, but he may consult a colleague more specialized in one of those branches.

Everyone learns from childhood on to interpret everyday omens, which are mostly taken from "zoomancy:" the flight or song of certain birds, meeting certain animals in certain circumstances, etc. The interpretation of the movements of the victim of a family sacrifice, the abôp spider oracle, asking the advice of ancestors by means of the narcotic herb alañ, (iboga), require that /a person/ be already initiated. Oracles by water, sand or gravel, or conducting minkal tests require much deeper knowledge.

751 The same holds for medicine. Everyone knows the ordinary mebiañ, but for serious cases people must turn to a mbibiañ. The word biañ, usually translated "medicament," "greegree," even "fetish," indicates not only the drug, a pharmaceutical product, but also the whole of a magical act, including the chanting and dancing associated with it for grave illnesses. Pharmacopeoia and therapy proper, to some extent investigated by Baudre, Weber, and Chabeuf in the Cameroons and by Gascón in Spanish Guinea, are or were quite copious. Not only did the mbibiañ know many substances with a mainly vegetable 752 base, but they also knew how to perform several surgical operations —reduction of fractures and dislocations, incision and drainage of deep abcesses, amputations, excision of certain tumors, and perhaps trepanning. But obviously there was a great deal of pure magic mixed up with this practical medicine, and the majority of mebiañ, if they had a therapeutic effect, owed it largely to psychosomatic reactions—which is not peculiar to Pahouin medicine.

791 Aside from medicine and divination and the combating of sorcerers, the essential role of the mingengañ consisted of influencing the shaping of the destiny of the group or of the individuals, if not in controlling their destiny. The powers of high initiates to some extent

Largeau /sic/) and the mekutu alele, bundles of little sticks making it possible to communicate in code, they had a kind of pictography, ntilan, with tens, if not hundreds, of signs, mindem. These we know (insufficiently) from the counters used in the abia game, a kind of tarots, used as a game as much as for predicting the future; the pieces were made of the seeds, or rather the pods, of a mimosa common in the forest (Tetrapleura /125/ thonningii, according to Trilles). These signs had a surface meaning, understood by all, and an esoteric meaning, restricted to initiates. They made it possible if not to write down traditions as a whole, at least to draw up a kind of aid to memory to be used by the beyia bia. They also enabled scouts to leave messages for a main body of fighters that followed. Each clan, each family had its own ndem, sometimes depicted in its tattoo mark, ndan, which thus constituted a sort of coat of arms.

The old literature included stories or tales, minlan, songs, bia, and chronicles, minkaïete.

Trilles is responsible for collecting most of the tales (no. 165), which often took the form of fabliaux whose hero was none other than Ol' Br'er Terrapin, Kulu (emphatic or personal form of kul), the earth tortoise (Cinyxis erosa), surrounded by Beme, the wild pig, stupid and gluttonous, Ze, the panther, mean and cunning, its principal enemy; Zo'o, the elephant, the king of beasts; Abop, the spider, artful and obliging; and the majority of the other forest animals (except, it seems, snakes, which no one ever likes to mention). Kulu, thanks to his shrewdness, always ends by getting out of the holes in which his caustic spirit or the old hostility between him and Ze have put him. Tales of magicians were also told, or stories about the conjugal mishaps of supposed ancestors. All such tales were in the public domain and were recited by anyone who felt competent. This was also the case with the puzzles and riddles that young people put to one another as a kind of flirtation.

Songs, however, were performed by specialists, even aside from ritual or magical songs. Some were used to accompany dances; they represented the most complete form of musical expression, with the tone of the words supposed to fit the music while being related to the movements of the dance. There are still beyia bia competent to lead a dance of this kind by improvisation, but they are few and very expensive. There also still exist players of the mvet (harp-guitar), whose repertory includes, beside the old sung legends, some modern

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mashed and mixed with oil and produces a splendid, very lasting red dye.

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draw white horizontal lines with white clay (mfem). A wide black circle is traced around the eyes; on the forehead each one draws the likeness or symbol of his tribal or clan totem, or instead, they sometimes draw it on their temples or cheeks. Thus the "axe" of the Amvom, actually the likeness of a boa, their totem serpent, winds over their cheeks and temples and ends near the eyes. To enliven this image, the juice of a grassy lily, the chlorophyton (ayɔ̂n é si), is used, which gives a long-lasting, blueish color. On the chest each one then draws his individual totem in black with gardenia juice.

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Once they have finished these preparations, the warriors pick up their weapons and fetishes and begin the war dance, which consists of two parts: a totemic dance and then the real war dance, [552] which has a stronger beat and is more lively. I have already described this before in connection with the war song, which here accompanies the dance.

After the war dance the chief approaches the victim. He is forced to his knees; the practitioner draws a white line on his neck, then violently pulls his head forward, while an assistant twists his arms behind his back. The practitioner cuts off his head at one quick blow with the sacrificial knife, and tosses it onto the altar. The chief collects the spouting blood in a pot kept for the purpose, a new pot which will afterwards be broken. As soon as the blood stops, the corpse is laid on fresh banana leaves and the practitioner, helped by the chief, opens his chest, taking care to use only two knife strokes: one across and one up and down. The heart is taken out and placed beside the skulls; then the lungs and liver are removed. According to the body's last twitching and the position of the organs, the practitioner predicts the outcome of the war. It will either be fortunate or cause the death of many warriors. "The funeral songs will last a long time," he may say, and the crowd will raise a cry of distress! If on the contrary the auguries are favorable, there will be shouts of joy, a song of triumph and gladness.

● [787]

721 779 782 266 608 Everyone then comes near, the chief first, and dips a finger into the pot of blood and tastes it. The practitioner also dips in his finger and with it touches each warrior's totem to make the so-called racial mark (ndem ayöö). "Adopted" warriors are excluded from this ceremony, perhaps the only occasion when a distinction is drawn between them and the tribe; in some smaller clans they are not excluded from this ceremony.

721 779 782 When a tribe is populous and a single victim would not be enough, two, three, and sometimes ten or more are provided.

As soon as each warrior has thus "renewed the mark," the sacred dances start again. During that time the chief joins in at first, then takes what remains of the blood, smears his ancestral skulls with it, and then sprinkles the tribal totems while the warriors sing the totem song. [553] The practitioner, helped by his acolytes makes a kind of large sticky ball from the sap of certain rubber creepers (1) and a kind of gum (2) and knead it inside [824]

1. Landolphia Klaineana and Thollonii of the Apocynecese.

2. This gum is produced by the Acacia erubescens Wildm. of the acacia family.

the victim's thoracic cavity so that it becomes soaked with blood. At the end of the ceremony he takes a bit from this ball and applies it to each warrior's chest. [787] According to how long it sticks, it will give an augury about the warrior's life, death, and the wounds he will receive.

721 782 266 As soon as the ceremonies are completed the victims are cut into thin strips, and each person receives his share. The feast begins. This is the end of the actual totemic ceremony, to be followed from then on by purely religious and fetishist rites. I therefore need say no more on the subject.

721 After the meal, the dance, and the songs, the skulls and totems are put back in the évora biéri and carried back to the huts.

VI. The Establishment of a New Village

361 621 66 187 Various circumstances may lead to the setting-up of a new village. Worked-out land, denuded hunting and fishing grounds, decaying huts, a disease decimating the children, the chief's death, a defeat in war, sometimes merely the wish to push on, are the principal reasons.

The spirits are consulted before departure is considered. [Footnote omitted.] There is a triple sacrifice: to the spiritual guardians of the village, to the ancestors, and to the totem. If the three replies are favorable, plans may go ahead. Otherwise, a sacrifice producing an ill-omened interpretation will be undertaken again, after a few days, until a favorable result is obtained.

361 621 After this first test a suitable location is sought. As this choice is made by delegates, the practitioner is called upon and he, with all the male inhabitants, combs the [557] surroundings of the new village, singing and dancing so as to drive away malignant spirits or any that might be injurious to the new establishment.

361 621 769 782 All the men then come together in the middle of what will be the future village, and the chief picks out the spot where he will build his own hut. A sacrifice is offered there, first to the totem and then to the spirits of the ancestors. To do this a roof of leaves is hastily erected and roughly placed on a few stakes. The évora biéri is carried underneath the roof and the chief puts in front of the unopened box a black hen and a kid.

Before slaughtering the two victims, the chief removes the akaméyõn from his baldrick and blows three times in the oviara, turning in three different directions. The objective of this ceremony is to dispel evil spirits. He then drags the akaméyõn behind him over the entire site of the new village. After one round he does another, holding the akaméyõn in his hand. Thus malignant spirits of earth and air will be dispersed. The akaméyon is then put on the évora biéri. The chief slaughters the hen by cutting off its head, grasps it by the feet, and sprinkles the akaméyõn and box. He again traverses the village, sprinkling

361 the sites of future huts with blood. The hen is then opened up
621 and divided among the principal warriors and the chief's relatives.
769 This strictly speaking, constitutes the totemic sacrifice. The
782 kid or sheep is then offered to the spirits of departed souls and to the ancestors.

After the sacrifice to ancestors the chief puts the akam̀ɛ̀n
361 back at his side. From the mfex or pouch, which is never re-
621 moved, he draws forth a small bundle of dirty material wrapped
769 around a bit of red wood, ashes, and a few bones. All this
778 comes from a sacrifice to the totem like that already described.
To these he adds the remnants of the recent sacrifice and buries
[829] it all deep in a hole in which he drives a strong stake of élun
or éfirfira wood; sometimes a young ebony tree is also used.
[822 At the top of the stake he fixes a ball of paste made of red wood,
842] white chalk -- the colors of sacrifices and spirits, and manioc,
the symbol of fertility. A part of the clan or tribal totem is
also inserted. The practitioner, with many gestures, songs,
and dances implisons within it all the evil spirits of the air.
[558]

The practitioner sows maize in the middle of the village,
then plants a manioc root and particularly a euphorbia (euphorbia
antiquorum), and puts a small fence around, so that the plants
• [787] will not be desecrated. The village's prosperity depends upon their
rapid growth. Should they wither, the chosen spot will be
[824] abandoned. Euphorbia has the power of averting thunder and evil
spirits by means of its bristling points. Amaryllis and
immortelles are often planted at the foot of the euphorbia, along
with a few stalks of sugar cane. The amaryllis and immortelles
ought to come from the old village, having issued from those
which the chief's first wife had formerly brought from her
[842] native village at her marriage. Sugar cane is a symbol of
fertility.

241 The women plant maize everywhere after these prelimi-
361 naries, and its rapid growth ensures basic subsistence. Mean-
while the men build the huts. The first ears of maize will
certainly be offered to the guardian totem. Dried and preserved
in the form of a coronet, they will provide seed for the following
year.

695 boil his own totem in the pot, but so has the practitioner, in
682 order to counterbalance the power of the accused man's totem.

The red-hot iron test, éki bîân or bîân éki bîân, is the third ordeal.

The accused man's knife is heated red hot, then pressed to his cheek; if the cheek is burnt, he is guilty; otherwise, he is declared innocent. He has the right to throw into the fire, in which the iron is heated, the ashes of his individual totem; he also has the right to rub with this same totem that part of his body to which the red-hot iron will be applied.

There is no need to dwell on how easy subterfuges would be, all the more so since before each ceremony the presumed culprit is allowed to apply a few strong poultices or substances to harden his skin. The totem would then be only more effective!

If declared innocent, the accused man nevertheless owes a sacrifice to his mvane, a debt that will be readily discharged.

In case of theft there are also three tests used, as follows:

685 for the otura bîân, the practitioner lights a large fire in
695 the middle of the village, fed with special kinds of wood. When
●787 the fire has caught well, he throws an armful of wet leaves on it; he then moves back, having pronounced above the rising smoke certain magical words. The column of smoke at first rises straight up; suddenly, without wind (often there is not a breath), without any visible physical action on the part of the practitioner or anyone else (because they are all at a distance), it curves inward, we are told, eddies, and then advances towards a hut which it completely envelopes. The hut's owner is immediately seized and declared guilty [562]; however, he can insist on drinking the test poison, provided that he is buying back his life for the first time. One cannot redeem oneself from the test poison.

The smoke test has always seemed to me one of the most difficult to explain. I have witnessed it several times and in spite of the closest attention have not been able to perceive the least trickery.

685 A second test is the following: the practitioner lies on the
695 ground and appears to listen to mysterious voices which are heard,
787 in fact, as if coming out of the earth. Probably a simple effect of
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ventriloquism is involved; certain practitioners are past masters at it. The voices mention three names, which the practitioner repeats aloud. Each of the presumed culprits must then bring a fowl; these are slaughtered by the practitioner and their blood is poured on the ground. The first sign is deduced from the way in which the drops fall and the forms they take. The fowls are then cut open, and the position of the liver and the final contractions of nerves and muscles corroborate the first indications.

The totem plays only an inconspicuous part in this test, which in any case is rarely used nowadays.

The most frequent test is the akala-nkal, thus called after the fetish nkal, which is kept in an antelope horn or large snail (ngôn). The practitioner heats water, mixing in different kinds of plants, and adds, to satisfy those who may think they are suspected, some of the ashes of their totemic sacrifice.

When evening comes, every man prepares a fire of wood and bamboo in front of his hut. The chief then goes through the brightly lit village, invoking guardian spirits and threatening the thief or thieves with terrible vengeance. Then he runs and jumps over all the bonfires, the men and women of the village following after him. If a man or woman should touch one of the brands with a foot so as to make it roll off the fire, that person is declared guilty. While undergoing the nkal test, the chief carries his totem in his hand. If all come through safely, the chief starts again on his own, this time holding the village totem, show everybody's innocence even more. [563]

After this first trial, which everyone usually gets through with the greatest ease, the one or more accused if such there be, if not, all the men of the village, take a drink of lustral water which the practitioner has just boiled; then they take a few steps and spit on the nkal, which has been put on the ground. Each person then steps over the nkal, swearing his innocence, and starts once more to leap over all the bonfires. If he is not hurt, he is declared innocent. It is extremely rare that, from the effects of the poison or for some other reason, one or another does not stumble over a brand and knock it out of the fire. He is thereupon declared guilty; if he denies it, he will have to drink the élûñ; if on the contrary, he saves his life but has to repay the theft twice over.

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This is the most frequent test among the Fan.

Anyone accused of sorcery, or all those who have succumbed during the first tests, must drink the ordeal poison. This ceremony has been described so often that there is no need to go into it at length.

In the Fan test-poison ordeal three different poisons are used, according to the case in question: the sap of the éŋ̀ŋ́ tree; the grated bark and roots of the oné or onaĺ; (1) the roots of the

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1. Strychnos onaĺ: this shrub of the strychnine family, produces the poison used on arrowheads. Puncture is fatal if the poison is fresh, and death ensues within a few moments. If the poison is old, the wound slowly becomes gangrenous. Bromine is a good antidote.

shrub kwéa. (2) These roots are finely shredded, thrown into

2. Strychnos ikaja: this is a common test on the coast, where kwéa, the natives say, is called ikaja, nka, mbonde, ibonde, etc.

boiling water and a reddish liquid is obtained after a few hours of simmering. This highly dangerous brew contains in solution a considerable amount of strychnine and hyoscine.

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The ngenngáh, or practitioner, begins by sacrificing a she-goat, with the formulae already indicated. Next, all the villagers assemble, and the practitioner appears in red and white paint, with red parrot feathers and black fish hawk plumes stuck into his hair to form a crown. His only garment consists of a skin tied around his loins, and he wears many bells on his hands and feet. [564] He invokes the protective fetishes of the village, leaps, skips, and howls frenetically. The tom-tom played by one of his acolytes is beaten faster and faster; the practitioner's movements increase in tempo; little by little he seems to move by preference toward a group, the sound of his bells directing him, so he says. Finally he halts abruptly and points in the crowd

688 695 787 to one or more culprits, who are immediately seized and led to the middle of the public square, where one of the practitioner's assistants is waiting with several cups of the liquid.

Those who, in previous ordeals, have asked to be given the poison to drink are also brought up at the same time.

Each in turn empties a cup: the effects vary according to the kind of poison.

Those who drink the élûn quickly develop a violent trembling, which convulses the whole body. They can hardly keep on their feet and would roll on the ground were they not supported by friends. If at this point they are able to urinate copiously, they will gradually recover and survive. However, for years they will have a persistent nervous tremor.

Those who drink the ikaja or the onaï seem, on the contrary, to be knocked out: they fall down, get up, and fall down again. They survive only if they can vomit the liquid.

Whatever the effect of the poison, all who have undergone the test are led before a log thrown like a bridge over a brook, or sometimes before a plank or a dead tree laid on the ground. They must tread it without help from one end to the other. If they teeter and fall, all the participants leap on them, [266] strike and kill them with clubs, tear them apart and eat them on the spot. However, the sorcerers or those who claim to be are never eaten but are burnt alive. Those who get through to the end of the plank have to pay a large fine. "There's no smoke without fire," seems to be the Fan proverb, translated [538] into their idom as, "Ké abi fo ve fo -- there's no rat hole without a rat!"

The totem enters to a fairly large extent into all these tests, either through the practitioner who invokes it or through the unfortunate accused who always have the right, quite illusory for them, to have a [565] piece of the totem boiled with the élûn (1) and to invoke it before drinking up the fatal

1. It is not for me to pass judgment on these ceremonies, or to show to what degree the practitioner plays the dominant role, often getting well paid

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for administering an effective emetic along with the test poison. I shall evaluate these ordeals later when discussing religion.

potion.

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Women are not subject to the tests I have just mentioned except sometimes to the nkal test. Among the Fan they do not drink the test poison; they are, in fact, considered as irresponsible and in a state of tutelage. Therefore in cases of serious accustion, a woman's father or husband has to take her place but does not invoke the totem, because it would not be able to act on her behalf since it does not acknowledge the woman.

Only for an accusation of sorcery does a woman have to submit to a test.

She is brought gagged to the middle of the village, two female relatives pull her head back, and the practitioner empties
[278] into her eye the sap of a euphorbia called ka. (2) If she comes

2. Euphorbia scandens, of the arboreal euphorbias.

through unhurt, she is innocent. If, on the contrary, as nearly always happens, the eye leaves the socket, she is immediately
[266] declared guilty, dragged away into the forest, burnt, and eaten. The accusation frequently arises, and punishment is never delayed.

VIII. Blood Exchange

608 " 'Brotherhood' (in America, totemisation)," says Mgr. Le Roy, (3) "is relationship through an exchange of blood; if

3. La religion des primitifs [The Religion of Primitive Peoples] op. cit., p. 120.

this is not quite totemism, it is very near to it."

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

412 the natural curve of the branches. Stones are employed for rolling food, especially for crushing and rolling the *ngon* seed. Shells of large land mollusca are cut in half and used for spoons, small gourds being used for the same purpose. Large gourds are used for water dippers and bottles. Very many uses are found for the forest 824 gourds, not the least ingenious being the use of a hollow stemmed gourd for [757] administering a rectal injection. Gourds are used for the sounding boards of the musical instrument called *mvuk*. The people find many uses for bamboo. It is used in construction of houses, fish baskets and traps are made from it, fences to protect paths during tribal wars are made of sharp pointed bamboo poles; and small sharpened pieces of bamboo with poisoned tips are buried in the forest paths, point upward, to wound and poison the naked feet of an unsuspecting enemy. The 825 teeth and claws of leopards and bush cats, elephant tail, antelope feet, horns and forest beans are used in their natural form as personal ornaments. Leopard teeth are always considered valuable as *biang* (fetish) and are much sought after; they are frequently imitated in ivory. I have not seen the defences of animals employed [412] as artificial defences, except as fetish. Long tough forest thorns are often used as awls and needles for piercing and sewing skins. I once saw an *ngangan* (witch doctor) 763 perform a post-mortem examination on a woman. After he had discovered the cause 797 of death, which he announced to the expectant crowd as being due to "six witches eating her liver," he first pierced the abdominal walls with a long hard thorn, and then sewed up the body with a bamboo needle threaded with pineapple fibre. I 342 have seen only one cave dwelling; it was used by an isolated sufferer of the dread 734 disease called by the natives *mabata* (a kind of sloughing phagedina). When proper reed material for making thatch is scarce, large forest leaves are used, but they make very poor roofs, especially during the tornado season.

Conservatism.—The Fang are not quick to adopt reforms or to introduce new 185 methods; they are more or less the slaves of custom, and have a superstitious dread 186 of departing from ancestral habits. This refers to all the proceedings of life. Fang living in towns near Gaboon are almost daily coming in contact with white settlers, and to some extent, at least, appear to be changing their mode of living. It never appeared to me that a Fang had the same longing to be "just like a white man" as possesses the young Mpôngwe and Benga men.

IX.—*Ornamentation.*

531 The patterns mostly seen in Fang ornamentation consist of bands, incised lines, elliptical punch marks, herring bone, lozenge pattern and cross lines. The natives do not possess a natural aptitude for drawing, and seldom attempt it. The few drawings I have seen on the bark walls of houses, supposed to represent men and women, were very crude and exaggerated in proportion. They have no idea whatever of perspective. They seem to interpret foreign drawings very readily. [322] The Fang show considerable skill in plain wood carving, using an ordinary native knife. I have noticed that their carving improves very considerably when an imported pocket knife is the instrument employed.

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

name, the *Eki* of the Fang being the *Orunda* of the Mpongwe. One day when ou 784
a journey among the people, I asked an old headman to share with me a chicken 778
my boy had prepared for supper; the old man seemed pleased at my invitation, but asked the boy if it was a hen or cock fowl. Upon being informed that it was a cock, he declined to eat any of it: that was his *Eki*. As previously stated, I do 769
not believe the natives worship the spirits of Present and Future, but to a certain degree ancestral worship does exist. A Fang places the skull of his father in a curious receptacle of bark, worshipping it, killing fowls and making blood offerings to it, and in many ways the whole matter somewhat resembles the worshipping at graves and before ancestral tablets as practised in China. The natives often pray to their father's skull before talking a large war palaver, or the purchase of a new woman. As worshipping departed ancestors is the chief duty of a faithful Chinaman, so making offerings and prayers to the departed father's spirit before the skull constitutes the great Fang fetish, or *bieti*. Wooden idols, *biyeme*, of men [831]
and women are made in a manner which makes the sex extremely apparent; yet [532]
whenever I have seen these figures in towns, the people did not seem to regard them as obscene, but as truthful representations of the sexes. I feel sure that to some extent, at least, phallic worship is practised among the Fang. Spirits are 776
everywhere; in rocks, trees, forests, and streams; in fact, for the Fang, this life is one continual fight against spirits corporal and spiritual.

A peculiar belief regarding dreams is that when a person sleeps the soul often 787
wanders away, and its experiences on these journeys are made known to the sleeper 928
by dreams. After death the soul may inhabit any kind of animal. [775]

Fetish Biang (medicine).—Fetish means anything; leopard teeth, human 778
finger nails, hair, wood, iron, herbs. The article used as *biang* or fetish, has no intrinsic value, it is only valued because of connecting its owner with a spirit which can aid him. The leopard tooth fetish is supposed to impart the bravery of the leopard to its owner. Fetish is a spirit or combination of spirits manifested in material things.

Dili Mkuk.—To murder a person and save his skull as a fetish, or use the skull as medicine to bring women, guns, goats or goods. The people will make offerings to the skulls calling them by the names of persons killed. It is said that these prayers are always answered as desired.

Biang e Soli (hiding medicine).—A man goes and takes leaves of trees, and cuts 789
them up. He says, "I have cut up leaves of trees" (or high grass, bushes). The women shell gourd seeds and mash them. They catch a fowl, kill it, and put it in the pot. They also put in the pot the medicine leaves, and the mashed gourd kernels. They put the pot on the fire, and boil (its contents). When they have boiled it, the medicine is cooked. They take the medicine pot off (the fire). They go and put it by the side of (*afuñ*) the back of the *bieti*. The man who has put it there says to the *bieti*, other people want to kill me. He takes away the medicine pot. He opens the *bieti* basket. He takes a small piece of the bone (instead of this say to the woman and children he takes the excrement of the

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

Ngang (Doctor). Translation.

[787] 726 539 789 The Ngang (witch doctor) prophesies war. If the war comes and is in the bush, then the doctor takes medicine wrapped in bush cat skin called *mebup*, and medicine in horns. He holds the horns in his hands. He counts the horns; he hangs the *mebup*. He says to the *mebup*, I say thus: No person must go to the forest. If a person goes anywhere the enemy will kill him. If a person says, I will not listen to the doctors' talk, I will go and do my work; then if he goes, the enemy kill him. If they kill a person, they take the heart and put it in the *abup*. They take an old witch and put it in the *abup*. Then if the doctor prophesies, the witch speaks from inside the medicine. The heart of the person, it talks.

XVI.—*Hunting Traps.*

224 The Fang are skilful hunters, but they justly give the credit of the chase to the *Nqui* (dwarfs). I have been told that a dwarf will go hunting in the bush and return with meat after a hunting party has returned unsuccessful from the same locality; the dwarfs have great patience. If while hunting in the forest a man sees a deer, he shouts for assistance: others come and help hunt. If the deer is killed, all claim a share, after one-third has been given to the man who first sighted the game. This is the custom when a man walking unarmed in the forest sights meat, and calls for aid. Meat killed by a regular hunting party is carried to their town and divided. Dogs are used to hunt game, the dogs wear wooden bells around the neck, sometimes the bells are made of iron. Flint-lock guns are used when hunting. Before a hunting party starts out it is the custom to make *biang nzali* (gun medicine), and to place the guns in it; this makes them shoot straight. The natives imitate very cleverly the calls of certain animals and birds for the purpose of decoy. Occasionally they drive game into an enclosure called *olam*. Spears are seldom used in the chase. The crossbow is used for shooting birds and small bush cats.

Poisoned arrows are not used with the crossbow. Pitfalls for game are dug and [441] covered with small branches and leaves; pigs and small deer frequently fall into them. A Fang never attempts to hit a bird on the wing. In firing the flint-locks the gun is not carried to the shoulder, but held by the stock in front of the body, the butt being on a level with the waist. Game laws are unknown.

After a successful hunting expedition the whole town indulges in a feast, men, women, and children eat until gorged; after a period of rest dancing commences and is kept up throughout the night.

Olam (Trap). Translation.

224 539 They take small trees and bamboo leaves and bush rope, and make a long fence. They leave holes for the traps and holes for the pitfalls (*i.e.*, opposite the